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ANSWER

TO A LETTER

FROM THE

HON. F. H. ELMORE, OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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AUGUSTA, GA.
BROWN, CURRIEY & MACFARLANE.
Printed and Sold by the Publishers.

1839.



ANSWER

by E.M.S. Spencer.

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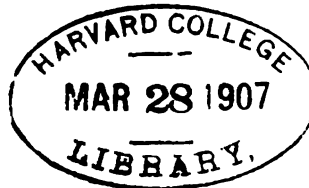
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1839.

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WASHINGTON CITY, 22d FEBRUARY, 1838.

SIR,—An address over the signature "LEONIDAS," issued as I learn by yourself, was put into my hands some time back, in consequence of a duty which has been assigned me, as one of a Committee of the Representatives from the slave-holding States, which requires me to collect all the information practicable, which will show the nature of the abolition associations, their numbers, resources, designs, and the means they employ and design to employ to carry out their objects. Perceiving by your circular, that your position has enabled you to gather much valuable information on these points, and being led to believe from the tone and tenor of your writings, that your patriotism extends to the whole country, constitution and right of the Union, I addressed a letter to Mr. LORING, the editor who published your address, and requested that I might be informed who was the author. I have this moment received his answer informing that you are the writer, and in pursuance of the object I had in view when I wrote to him to make the inquiry, I will take the liberty of addressing some interrogatories to you, which are designed to procure answers from you imparting information, which if given will, I hope, be given with full permission to use it in putting our countrymen of the slave States, in the full possession of all the information which we may deem it important to their safety and welfare, they should have. You sir seem to have a clear perception of their danger, and a strong conviction that it rapidly impends to its crisis—this is my own opinion, and I feel it my duty to rouse them if it can be done, while there is yet a time and a hope of preventing it.

1. Were you born and educated in a non-slaveholding State?
2. Have you been at any period associated in any Society of Abolitionists? When—where—how long and in what capacity?
3. Upon what basis of principle are these associations formed? Do their intentions extend to abolition in the District of Columbia, or to the whole slave country.
4. By what means do they intend or design to effect their intentions? By money—by the press—by argument—law—insurrection—or how?
5. Do they in secret entertain or urge any means or modes of accomplishing emancipation, which they do not avow in their publications?
6. Do they give shelter and aid to runaway slaves? Do they encourage slaves to run-away? And how do they operate to this end?
7. How do they raise their funds?
8. Do they send agents into the slave country, and with what designs?
9. Is it any part of their plan to infuse their principles into the education of the younger classes? How is it done?
10. Do they encourage Juvenile Abolition Societies? How and where are they formed? Do they exist in schools, academies and colleges? And are they confined to boys and young men, or do they extend to girls and young women?
11. What classes of persons are abolitionists? Does the principle pervade all or only a part of Society?
12. Do you consider it dangerous and to what extent?

If you will do me the favor to give me answers to these, or such of them as you feel inclined to answer, with permission to use your answers, you may sir, be the instrument of service grateful to a large portion of your countrymen, and do something to save us a severe and perhaps fatal struggle for the preservation of this Union. Now is the time to put out our strength—if delayed, I fear double the exertion and power now requisite, will not save it.

Should you favor me with an answer, pray do it as early as may comport with your convenience, and copy each question and append the answer. I have in my haste, retained no copy of the questions.

I am sir, also desirous of knowing, if you have any acquaintances in Congress to whom you can refer me, if it should be necessary to make any inquiries for you.

I am Sir, very respectfully, your ob'dt. ser'vt.

F. H. ELMORE, of South-Carolina.

Wm. L. Garrison
13m of 1850
4 PA 411 LETTER

TO THE

HON. B. F. ELMORE, OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

one of the Committee of the House of Representatives,

concerning Northern Abolitionists.

DEAR SIR,

In accordance with your request, contained in your letter to me, of the 22d February, I will proceed to answer your questions, in as brief and as plain a manner as possible.

I would gladly have avoided entering into a contest, in which I find arrayed in opposition to myself, many of my **own personal** friends, with whom I have been associated from the earliest days of recollection; whose age, experience and opinions, I respect, but at the same time I trust they will pardon me for differing very materially in sentiment, as to those principles, which at this time, they avow to the world, and which must involve the *everlasting destiny* of this Republic. It is my own love of country, which prompts me to sunder, if it must be so, every tie of friendship, every bond which unites me to friends I love; even, if it were necessary, of consanguinity itself; and to exclaim, **Liberty and the Union, one and inseperable, now and forever.** If in the ardour of patriotism, I may have formed erroneous conclusion, or have asserted any thing without power of proof, I claim the forgiveness of my enemies, and the charity of my friends. I shall not, however, succumb to assertions based upon **falsehoods**, or principles begged without proof; but only lay myself open to conviction to reason, and plain common sense, founded upon all the past experience of mankind. I shall proceed to my duty, regardless of the threats of foes, and unmoved by the hope of rewards

Wm. L. Garrison
13m of 1850

from friends. Sir, I believe the hour has come, when every freeman should awake, and drive back that wild spirit of mad fanaticism, which rolls on as some dark oblivious, and destructive wave, from Hudson's Bay to Panama, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains.

The crisis is rapidly approaching, the contest is at hand, in which will be arrayed on the one side, the true friends of the Union, and on the other those vile and restless spirits of mad ambition, who would affect their purposes regardless of consequences, even though it involves the ruin of this Republic, and the destinies of millions yet unborn! Though the torch of internal dissensions should light upon the temple of our liberties, and blaze upon the falling fragments of the **CONSTITUTION**, their duty is paramount to all. Then should not every lover of his country rouse to action, with a firm and unflinching resolution to sustain this Union, even at the hazard of every thing he holds most dear. But, Sir, pardon my digression, and I will answer your interrogatories, with as little *partiality* or *prejudice* as possible.

1. "Where you born and educated in a non-slave-holding State? Where?"

I was born and educated in a non-Slaveholding State—the State of New York.

2. "Have you been at any period associated in any Society of Abolitionists? when—where—how long, and in what capacity?"

In about the year 1832, I united myself as a member of an Abolition Society, in the county of Oneida, State of New York. I remained as a member of that Society for about three years. Soon after becoming a member of the Society of which I speak, I attended a Convention in the same county, and was appointed an officer over the town in which I resided, with full powers to call a meeting of the citizens at any period I might think proper, for the purpose of forming a Town Abolition Society, and also to solicit petitioners for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

This Convention consisted of Delegates from the various town Societies in that county. Soon after the meeting of this Convention, Societies for the Abolition of Slavery were formed in almost every Town in the county. I proceeded to solicit petitioners for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and in a very short period obtained

about eighty. Business, however, calling me from home, the petition was never forwarded to Congress. I soon became convinced of the error of my principles, thus hastily embraced, and of the most destructive policy of the course I was then pursuing; and after long reflection, as to the probable consequences, both to our *country* and *liberty*, I resolved forever to abandon such principles, and to swear *eternal separation*. These principles thus abandoned, were embraced by myself, while I was under the influence of a wild enthusiasm, caught from the masteries of eloquence, as I heard portrayed in lively coloring, the sufferings and the wrongs of the bleeding African. He was placed before me groaning under the merciless lash of the *task master*; again I saw him kneeling upon the earth, *bound in chains*, with his hands to Heaven, exclaiming, "am I not a friend and brother?" I saw him again torn from his family, and all the endearments of home, doomed to drag out a miserable existence beneath the hand of *relentless tyranny*.— I saw only the whip, the scorpion, the rack, the torture and the inquisition. With such colorings in the hands of a skillful artist, think you he did not present a picture, which would touch the imagination, and fire the fountains of the soul? And were these presented as a few of the isolated cases, a few of the worst conditions of the Slaves of the South? No sir, I was taught to believe that this, was the general *characteristic* of American Slavery. I was told of none of the ameliorating circumstances of the Slave. I was instructed only to believe that the Master was a heartless, unfeeling monster, regardless alike of sympathy or mercy, and totally unmoved by the cries of pity or humanity. It is Sir, these falsehoods, embellished with the paintings of imagination, by the designs of the artful, which has influenced, perhaps many of my unfortunate countrymen, to embrace principles, so totally destructive to the best interests of this NATION, and so entirely subversive of all law, all precedent, all right. Of the motives which have influenced others, who have embraced these principles, I will speak hereafter.

After remaining a member of an Abolition Society for about four years, I withdrew myself from their councils, under a firm conviction of my past errors of principle, hoping that I may atone for the past injury I may have done my country, by my faithfulness in her behalf for the future.

3. "Upon what basis of principle are they when every formed? Do their intentions extend to Abolish it, of mad District of Columbia, or to the whole Slave country?"

These Abolition Associations are formed upon the principle that Slavery is a moral evil, a sin, a curse. The great champions of this doctrine proclaim that the American people are hypocrites before the world, while they solemnly declare, "That all men are born free and equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and at the same time, they hold their fellow-man in bondage, and grind his neck in *galling servitude*.— Upon the principle then, that Slavery is a moral evil, they proceed to establish it as the *duty* of every philanthropist, of every lover of his country, of every christian, to raise his waning voice against it, and to embarke in a holy crusade against this curse of curses, and to swear *eternal hostility* to its *supporters*, whatever be their *name, age, rank, sex or condition*. They proclaim that the vengeance of Heaven is out against this sin, that it is the crying sin of the land, and that if they fail to perform their duty, the wrath of the vials of the Almighty shall be poured out without mixture, upon them and their posterity forever.

Appealing to all their sympathies, as men; and their humanity and love, as christians, they bring before them the *bleeding, wronged, degraded African*, not in his *better condition, clothed, fed and with a joyful heart*, but naked, starved, and dying, groaning under the merciless lash of an unfeeling master. Not free from care, save only to perform his daily task, and then to partake of the labor of his hands; but goaded to the earth, by everlasting toil, and that too for one who will not even furnish him with sufficient to sustain life. Draged from his home, torn from his family, immured in some lone dungeon, or ground to the very dust by oppression, he stands a spectacle, too loathing for human nature, and calls forth all the sympathies of the soul. After such a scene, perhaps follows this touching anthem, in which most, who have listened to the appeal, as it were by a strange combination of sympathy and fanaticism, join

"Hark! I hear a sound of anguish!

In my own, my native land;

Brethren doomed in chains to languish,

Lift to Heaven their suppliant hand,

And despairing,

Death! the end of woe, demand!

Aye, Sir, and I have myself, witnessed, after the chanting of those very words, the tear drop startling from many an eye, which told well that the eloquence of the orator had been but too successful.

But should an individual, who has lately embraced these principles, enquire of those more learned, "what are to be the consequences of the dissemination of these *sentiments and efforts*?" He is answered, "what have we to do with the designs of God, or who can pry into the *councils* of the *Almighty*? Do your duty, and leave the *event* with *Heaven*."

Though the earthquake shock should sunder this *Union*, and hurl the broken pillars of the *Constitution* in fragments smouldring to the dust; though the whirlwind of desolation should sweep over this land, with more than the ten fold vengeance of that, which once rolled over the *Cambrian*. "Leave the *event* with *Heaven*!" is still their cry. Though the crimsoned streams of blood should swell to *Oceans*, and navies float upon their waves; though *Heaven* to earth should fall, and chaos and confusion all, the mass of congregated matter out of being hurl, "*Let us do our duty, fearless of consequences!*" is still their cry.

The intentions of Abolitionists extend not only to the District of Columbia, but to all of the Slave-holding country in the United States. Trust not, Sir, their pretensions, that they only desire the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. Believe it not, it will prove a snare to your feet, it will be the charybdis upon which the Siren sings, only to weave the winding-sheet of your *doom*.

Sir, I have heard it avowed by some of the champions of their principles, "that if they could obtain the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, their cause would *triumph!*" This is the key-stone of the arch, the foundation of their superstructure. If they succeed here, their designs are well nigh accomplished. Their next duty will, and must be, to effect emancipation in *all the different States!*

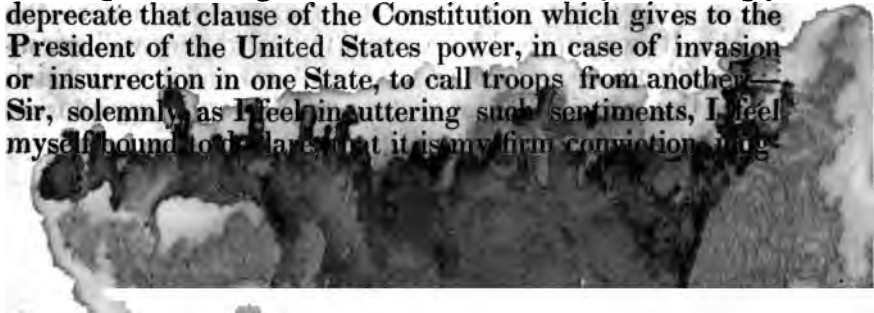
I do not assert this as a speculative opinion of my own, but it is their own cherished sentiments, uttered in the broad blaze of day, not in the secret conclave, but before the world. If they succeed here, mark my word, they will *persevere* with an *energy* which never falters, and a zeal which never tires, until the last vestige of Slavery is swept from the *American soil*, or this *Union is dissolved*.

4. "By what means do they design to effect their intentions? By money—by the Press—Law—Argument—Insurrection—or how?"

Through the medium of the Press, they intend to *enlighten* mankind. They intend to show forth to the world, the *horrors of Slavery*, and the *fatal consequences of its continuance*. Their publications find their way alike into the splendid mansions of the great, and learned, and also into the obscure cottage of the peasant. Nor is it by the press alone that they expect to accomplish their designs. They have a most sanguine hope, that soon as public attention is awaked to the subject, laws will be enacted, either by the General Government or by the sovereign States themselves, which will at once drive Slavery from the land. In order to correct public opinion upon this subject, it is necessary that their Presses should teem with everlasting abuse, to those individuals who recognize Slavery, either by actually holding in possession, or by living in a slave county. All the epithets which the tongue of venal slander can invent, all the anathemas which imagination can produce, and all the imprecations which infidelity can invoke, is collected together in one congregated mass, and placed as a mural crown of *honor*, on the masters brow.

To use some of their own emphatic denunciations, as expressed openly in their societies, "Every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, is a *man stealer*." They brand him as a *murderer*, worse than the assassin who at the midnight hour, plants the steel into his neighbors' heart. By argument, they intend to overcome the learned, and by wisdom to confound the foolish. They contend that paying the master a just equivalent for his slave, is wrong, because forsooth, it is a virtual acknowledgement that he has a right thus to hold his fellow-man in servitude. Thus by the Press, by law, and by argument, they are to meet every opposition, and hurl down every barrier which may oppose their designs.

As to insurrection, they would not perhaps justify the slave in rising in arms against his master, but they exceedingly deprecate that clause of the Constitution which gives to the President of the United States power, in case of invasion or insurrection in one State, to call troops from another—Sir, solemnly, as I feel in uttering such sentiments, I feel myself bound to declare, that it is my firm conviction, that



ing from what I have heard and seen, that should it become the duty of the President, at any future period, to exercise this power thus constitutionally conferred upon him, I say sir, it is my firm conviction that many of those called Abolitionists, would be found revolvers against Government.— And I will go further, I will take the responsibility of *asserting*, that in case of a general insurrection in the Southern States, many, I will not say all, would, if compelled to join one standard or the other, be found enlisting under the banner of the *slave* against his *master*.

I know I am committing myself here, and may be challenged for the *proof* of this assertion, but it *can* be established beyond controversion, it is clear as the noon-day sun to any individual who may have witnessed for the past six years their movements and designs.

5. "Do they in *secret* entertain or urge any means or mode of accomplishing emancipation, which they do not avow in their publications?"

I cannot say that I believe that the Abolitionists, as a body, entertain private principles which they do not avow to the world. I will do them the justice to say, that so far as my information extends, they are fearless to utter their sentiments, and proclaim their *opinions*. There are among them a few solitary exceptions of individuals, who cherish sentiments, which are only uttered in the ear of *friends*, or in their *secret councils*. Those, however, are moved either by the uneven fires of enthusiasm, or by the vagaries of a rising ambition.

6. "Do they give shelter and aid to *runaway slaves*? Do they *encourage* slaves to runaway? How do they operate to this end?"

That the Abolitionists *shelter* and *aid* runaway *slaves*, cannot for a moment be doubted. There are instances of this kind within my own knowledge, but I deem it unnecessary to advert to them. That they encourage slaves to runaway, is not susceptible of proof, for this reason, the *slave* can scarcely ever be under their influence without the knowledge of the master.

7. "How do they raise their funds?"

Their funds are raised by donations, from each individual, at different periods, at the meeting of their societies, and also by large contributions from wealthy persons, who are Abolitionists, say of from one to ten hundred dollars.

8. "Do they send Agents into the Slave country, and with what designs?"

Sir, It is well known to the Abolitionists, that any person or persons, who should travel through the Slave-holding, States as an avowed agent of their societies, would not be insured even of safety or life. I know not that any such Agents traverse the Southern States; if they do so, it must be under some other name and profession.

9. "Is it any part of their plan to infuse their principles into the education of the younger classes? How is it done?"

Their principles are infused into the youthful minds by many, I should say, at least a majority. I cannot say that their societies have any fixed rules which enjoin this, but these principles are engrafted early, to mature by riper years. Personal instruction, tracts and pamphlets, are the principal mediums through which this is effected. In some few instances they may have gone so far as to inculcate these sentiments in *Sabbath Schools*, but these instances are not common. They are also proclaimed from the Pulpit in the hearing of the young, if not on a day consecrated to public worship, on some week day. The youth hear these principles, uttered forth from the *peaceful fireside*, from the *pulpit*, from the *political caucus*, from the *tumultuous assembly*, and from the public *forum*. They are taught to believe that these principles, and these only, will ensure the future welfare of this Republic.

10. "Do they encourage Juvenile Abolition Societies? How? Where are they formed? Do they exist in Schools, Academies and Colleges? and are they confined to Boys and Young Men, or do they extend to Girls and Young Women?"

Juvenile Abolition Societies are formed in many of the States, comprising New York and several of the New England States, and they exist under the sanction and approbation of the parent Societies, embracing similar principles, and governed by similar laws.

These societies also exist in a number of the non-slaveholding States, in the Schools, Academies and Colleges. They are not confined to any sex, age, or condition, all are permitted to lend their influence in favor of the cause—male and female, rich and poor, bond and free!

The proud and titled, and the obscurest menial, enlist side by side, under the same banner. The purse-proud aristocrat, and the penniless beggar, the virtuous citizen and the abandoned profligate, the Priest at the altar of God, and the

open infidel, here meet around the consecrated shrine—here join their efforts and their influence.

11. "What classes of persons are *Abolitionists*? Does the principle pervade *all* or only a *part* of Society?"

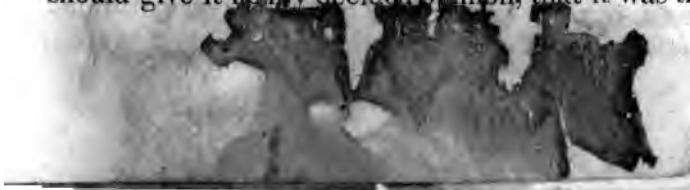
Sir,—I feel a delicacy in answering this interrogation. I am not one who would place a false estimate upon character, or affix wrong motives to human actions. Touching as it does, individuals with whom I have been associated from my youth, and for whom, aside from their principles, I have a high respect. Thus it can but occur to your mind, that I would place the most favorable light upon their character and designs. However unpleasant this duty may be to my own personal feelings, yet my love of country, and of this *glorious* UNION, compels me to sacrifice every inclination and to rush to the *rescue*, if so be that this REPUBLIC, can yet be snatched from the *jaws* of that impending *destruction*, which seems her inevitable doom.

The *Abolitionists*, as a body, are composed of various classes, from the highest to the lowest. You will find among them, a singular combination of talents character and condition. You will find the crouching menial, whose faith awaits his master's bidding, the pedant just let home from school, the coxcomb gentlemen, the *zealous christian*, and the learned *Divine*: you will find the judge upon the bench, the polished *advocate* and the *enlightened statesmen*, and lastly, the votaries of an aspiring ambition!

Lastly did I say? No sir! You will find other characters, more to be dreaded than these. You will find the deluded fanatic, the hair brained madman, the political demagogue, and the reckless aspirant for power.

These sir, are some of the characters which make up this strange combination, and I might mention many others, but it is needless and unnecessary.

In so great a number as compose those called Abolitionists, it would indeed appear singular if we should not find most, if not all of the above characters. Such characters exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in all bodies of any considerable number, whether civil, political or religious. But that a class of characters, peculiar in themselves, may exist in one body embracing any general principles, more than another embracing different principle, requires no proof. If I might be permitted to say which of these characters preponderate among the Abolitionists, I should give it as my decided opinion, that it was the deluded



Fanatic, the votary of ambition, the political demagogue, and the reckless aspirant for *power*.

There are in every community a certain class of individuals, of sanguine temperaments and of sympathetic nerves, who are eager to grasp at any thing which presents the appearance of novelty or innovation. Anxious for excitement, pleased with any new principle, they do not stop to enquire as to its origin, or to investigate the tendency of its influence, but rush heedlessly onward, "as the horse rusheth to battle." With such individuals, it is in vain to reason. You might as well stand at the base of Niagara, and reason with its thundering waters, as they quiver on the everlasting granite and shake the world. You might as well have stood upon the crater of Vesuvius, and reasoned with her fires, while Pompeii yet remained, as to attempt to sway these individuals, or influence them by common sense or reason from their purpose.

They have heard of the wrongs of the SLAVE. They have seen him in the fertility of their imaginations suffering excruciating tortures,—chained like Prometheus to the rock of cold Caucasus, the vulture at his vitals,

"Now bend him to the rack,
Look as PROMETHEUS, in my picture here
See! how he writhes, quick my good pencil now,
Let's paint the death dew on his brow!
—Gods! if I could paint a dying groan.

Thus the extreme brilliancy of their imaginations, paints in glowing colours a scene, which the pencil of one of the most distinguished artists, once in vain attempted to execute. But such persons should rather excite our pity than revenge.—They listen, believe, propose and resolve to execute, swayed alike by the uneven, and restless fires of a misguided enthusiasm, and by the quenchless zeal of a mad fanaticism.

Of the political demagogue, of the votary of ambition, and of the aspirant for power, I need not speak, for you, yourself, can discern with discrimination of their motives, from the very mention of their names.

Permit me to say with all proper respect to the Congress of the United States, that it has come within my own personal knowledge, that many individuals who are not of themselves Abolitionists, have signed their *Petitions*, for this reason, they believed that the right of Petition had been violated, by Congress refusing to act upon those Petitions, and to refer them to committees. I trust sir, however, that their will soon be a remedy for this! That Congress will think proper to refer these Petitions to the appropriate Com mit-

tees, soon as this is done, these individuals, will cease to join in these Petitions, and will oppose their designs. Their influence then will be wholly in favor of *Southern Rights*, and against the abolition of slavery in the *District of Columbia*. Pardon my digression, I thought this so important a fact, especially to the Southern States, that I could not pass it in silence.

As to the prevalence of Abolition Principles, I am aware they are extensive. That these principles are daily and hourly, rapidly disseminating is but too true. But notwithstanding this, I think I am safe in asserting that as yet, a majority of the virtuous, of the intelligent, of the enlightened and talented of the non-slaveholding States, are strongly opposed to their designs, and in favor of *Southern Rights*.—How long this will be so, all trying time can alone determine.

12. "Do you think it dangerous! and to what extent?"

Sir, I believe in God, the time has come—the crisis is at hand, when it is the duty of every *Freeman* to awake to the interests of his country.

If this tide of opinion and sentiment must sweep on, if the Abolitionists will persist in their efforts, if all entreaty is in vain, if reason, if argument, if common sense, fail alike to change their purpose, where is the individual who can calculate with the smallest degree of certainty of the continuance of this UNION. These principles if disseminated in future, with the rapidity of the past, will at length pervade all society, all classes, and all conditions of men. When this period arrives, when the low murmurings of discontent, shall at length be heard from the slave, as he hears of his wrongs, and hears too the white man is his friend, when the spirit of revenge, so dreadful as it must be in the bosom of those so destitute of reason, and of all the finer sensibilities of the soul. When this spirit shall burst forth in all the ungoverned malice of the heart, swearing vengeance on all mankind. What other alternative is left, but that the South must be driven to the dreadful necessity of swearing the *dissolution of this Union!*

Will not the citizens of republican America learn wisdom from the history of the past. Where now are those splendid republics of olden times, and what were the causes of their downfall? 'Twas the torch of internal dissension fired an imperial ROME, and her smouldering piles stand at this day a warning to other republics—the imperishable monuments of the follies of man, and of the wrath of an avenging

Heaven? Where once her lofty domes and turrets in grandeur towered on high, the Goth and Vandal treads. Not even the eloquence of a Godlike CICERO, as he thundered in her Forum, could stay the sweeping tide of destruction.—The sweetness of his voice is hushed in death, and in exchange is heard the hoarse growlings of the Numidian lion, as he starts upon the wary traveller.

GREECE! ASSYRIA! CARTHAGE! Where are they? Once they arose, they flourished, the grandeur of the world! Once in adoration wrapt their millions knelt around their shrines! Now where are they? The boding owl sits lonely on their palaces, and hoots his evening song! Around their crumbling columns the mantling ivy twines its folds as if to perpetuate their wasting memory to other days. They rose, as if by the enchanting touch of the magician's wand; their lofty pillars, their triumphal arches and their solemn temples, dazzled awhile for a moment, and like the dim shadows gliding before the future, as rapidly hastened to their downfall!—What now is it to Greece, DEMOSTHENES once lived? What to Assyria, all her boasted learning and her arts? And what to Carthage the name of HANNIBAL? All that remains is found upon the marble which defies the blast of time, inscribed in capitals, "THEY WERE BUT ARE NOT."

Their histories yet survive:—their memories yet live:—live as a warning to other republics, as beacon lights, as precursors of mercy to future generations,—to shun the shoals and quicksands of internal dissensions, which rent them in twain, and hurled them headlong to the dust!

And will not American citizens profit by examples of the past? And shall ours be the destiny of former Republics?

Sir, the seeds of dissension are already sown, which if not blasted, will one day cause the *Dissolution of the Union*.—This is no idle dream, no picture of the imagination, it is as true, as that effects follow causes, as certain as there is a God enthroned above the universe.

It is in vain, it is idle to suppose, that the Abolitionists can go on and persist in their efforts, and that the influence will not extend finally to the Southern States, and to the slave. The slave will hear of his wrongs! He will hear too that he has a friend—a friend who sympathises in his woes—a friend, whom he at least hopes, will assist him to break the chains of the "*Oppressor*," for he has heard the name. He gathers together all the stronger passions of a mind ripe for vengeance, and swears eternal destruction to mankind. Then sir, will follow a scene never perhaps

equalled in the annals of the world. A scene, compared with which, the *bloodiest records*, in the darkest ages of *barbarism*, would be a *mercy*. The whirlwind's wing of *Desolation*, which once swept, as the scathing lightning over the *Camatic*, the crimsoned streams of blood which followed in the footsteps of ROBESPIERRE, were nothing in comparison to that indiscriminate slaughter, which must at that period fall upon all ages, sexes and conditions!

Oh my country! Can I for a moment contemplate so awful a scene, without lamenting over the sad infatuation of those, who in opposition to all entreaty, who in spite of all reason, will thus rush heedlessly onward, *regardless of consequences*, deluge this land in blood, and hurl the fair fabric and temple of our liberties, smouldering to the dust! Yes! If they will persist, if all entreaty is in vain, this *Union will be dissolved*, this *Republic must fall!* It will fall! but never like the Phoenix from its ashes rise!

Christians! Patriots! Philanthropists! are these the consequences of thy generosity? Are dying groans, are widows tears, are orphans sighs, are crimsoned fields of blood, and empires overthrown, are these the *offerings* which ascend as incense to your God?

But, Sir, notwithstanding, I doubt not that there *may* be, even among those called Abolitionists, characters who would rejoice at the downfall of this Republic, for such are found in all considerable bodies of men; tho' no doubt, there exists among them a Nero, an Alexander, a Cæsar, and a Cromwell, who would light the *first torch*, or sway the *first trident* over its smouldering ruins. Yet let us hope that there is *virtue* enough in our citizens, to *save our country*, and to cause her to *triumph above every foe*. It is to the virtuous, enlightened, and intelligent of the North, who have not as yet, embraced these principles; it is to them I look, joined to the united influence of the South, for the *rescue* of this Republic. If they will rise, united as one man, and drive back this tide of opinion which is sweeping over our land; if they will but sound the note of alarm, until its peals of thunder shall echo from Labrador to the Torid Zone, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, our *glorious country* may yet be *saved*, and we be *free!* If there is yet *virtue* enough in our citizens; if the desolatory destruction which hangs as a cloud upon our horizon, can be stayed back; if now the true friends of this Union, will rally under *one* banner, and smother eternal hostility upon the altar of God, to *copy* *for* of our country, Constitution and Liberty,

we may *hope* that this Republic will yet survive the shock, and stand unmoved amidst the crush of Empires, and the tottering of Thrones. We may yet behold her rising in *greatness* and *power*, showing forth to the world a *nation of freemen*. This glorious Union will stand a "Pole Star of Hope," to other nations, pointing as a magnet, to the declaration, that mankind are capable of self-government.

If, Sir, the Abolitionists will go on, heedless of consequences, if the South will not rise, as one man, and join her influence with the enlightened of the North, who are, as yet, *opposed* to those principles, mark my word, *this Union is dissolved!* The days of *this Republic* are numbered! On the escutcheon of her fallen glory, is written, "*she was, but is not!*" The blood chills in my veins, and the streams of life almost wither at the fountain, as I contemplate the *horrors* of the scene. The North against the South, brother against brother, father against son, and friend against friend! They meet in battle array! A long, a solemn pause.

Oh! shade of a departed WASHINGTON, rouse for a moment from the tomb, which enshrines your ashes, and behold your children, to whom you bequeathed the rich legacy of *freedom*, and for whom you consecrated your life; behold them now on the field of strife, father, brother, friend and sire, resolved on death or victory! Beseech them, for the sake of the crimsoned plains of Monmouth, of Camden, and of Orleans; beseech them, for the sake of the blood of Patriots slain, and for the sake of millions, yet to be, to stay the *uplifted arm of vengeance!*

Hark! the *clash of arms*, the *groan*, the *shriek*, the shout of *victory!* The crimsoned steel drinks up the last drop of blood which lingers, slowly coursing at the fount of life, and the red messengers of death, speed home alike the friend and foe. The orphan's tears, the widows wail, the mothers groans, mingle with the purple streams of gore; again the clash of arms, another shriek, the shout of victory, and all is o'er. All is still, where once *ten thousand* hearts beat high in hope. The rider lies low with the foam of the champing of his war-horse, and foe finds a grave in the arms of his foe.

Hark, heard ye that sound, which, like a thousand thunderbolts, hurried from the arm of *Omnipotence*, boomed through the sky? It was the falling crash of the Temple of our *Liberties*, and the broken fragments of the *pillars of the Constitution*, cleaving to the dust. The tyrant tramples on their smouldering piles, and the *despot* sways his trident over the *ruins of America*.

Sir, pardon my reflections, and if, in any thing I may have said, I have rendered any service to my country, let her destiny be what it may, I shall have the pleasing recollection, that as a humble individual, I raised my warning voice in her behalf. It is for her *interests* I would sacrifice *every thing*, and I stand ready to offer up my life in her defence, and would wish to die exclaiming, "*Liberty and the Union, one and inseparable.*" Now rest.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.



A black and white photograph of a large, multi-story building with a prominent central tower and many windows, likely a government or institutional building.



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